9: Ewers NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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[For information on the horse medicine cult and its bundle, see all of the above categories.]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Siksika and the Kainah—who often came to the aid of the Piegan in times of conflict.

While kin ties were basic to band formation, friendship and self-interest played a part as well, and people changed bands when they felt it advantageous to do so. Ewers believes that this shifting band allegiance had developed with the inequal distribution of wealth that followed the acquisition of the horse. Poor people became more dependent upon the generosity of the wealthy few and attached themselves to the bands of those men who could best provide for them.

Band membership then was based first of all upon kin ties, but with no absolute rule of descent. Wives usually joined the band of their husbands and children belonged to that of their father, but it was not unusual for a man to join his wife's group. A widow could choose to remain in her husband's band or to return to that of her parents. A man could change band affiliation "even in middle life . . ." (Wissler 1911:19). Other persons attached themselves to the band for various reasons, and long residence with a band, and acceptance by its members, was tantamount to band membership.

The tribe was a larger association of individual bands whose members recognized common ties of language, kinship and culture. It was an organized unit only during the few weeks of the summer hunt, and tribal discipline operated only at this time. Even here the bands retained their spatial and functional autonomy; each band had it habitual place in the camp circle and continued to operate as an economic and political unit with only a part of its powers surrendered to the tribal organization.

Like other Plains Indians, the Piegan had a series of men's organizations, or societies, of which there were three basic types: age-graded warrior societies, religious societies and cults, and the less formal dance association.

The named warrior societies (Mosquitoes, Pigeons, Braves, All-Crazy Dogs, etc.) were corporate groups, that is, they continued over time, surviving the individual members. Groups of young men of a similar age sometimes started a new society, or, more usually, got together and bought memberships in an ongoing society. Similarly the old members would in turn buy into the next age-rank. The transfer was between individuals and such purchases could occur at any time. It was customary, however, for several men to transfer at the same time. Periodic transfers of this kind made possible a progressive movement of membership from a lower to a higher ranking society as men grew older. The oldest society might continue as its ranks were renewed from below, or eventually die out as its members passed away.

These were the groups granted policing powers at the summer encampment. In addition they served to promote the military spirit of the members through war games and intersociety competition in races, dancing and games.

The medicine men's societies and related cults were less formally organized gatherings of men who owned important medicine bundles and powers. These men conferred together to aid in the organization and presentation of the Sun Dance and to promote the spiritual and material welfare of the tribe. The dance organizations were social clubs made up of young men who organized for the purpose of staging social dances during the time of the summer encampment.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

dynamic one, and included remarks that were critical of his own candidacy or performance in office. On one occasion the interpreter gave introductory recognition to candidates who were unable to attend and commented that "your support at the polls would be most appreciated" by those candidates. People running for office draw upon ties of kinship that might have been overlooked or ignored in the recent past. It is often said that if you can get the support of a few key people you can be assured of the "full-blood vote," indicating the belief that kinsmen will vote with their family leaders.

People of both orientations attend church services according to individual interests and needs. Leaders of the different denominations actively proselyte among both unaffiliated people and the membership of the other churches. Interest in church attendance appears to follow the patterns indicated in the responses to my questionnaire where only three of the Indian-oriented and four of the white-oriented reported regular church attendance.

Rodeos and sports events are occasions for the largest gatherings which include relatively equal attendance and participation by people of both orientations. The rodeo attracts the largest crowds. These are public events open to all who buy a ticket and are given wide publicity; the participants are largely local people and drawn from both orientation groups.

People from both groups were seen in attendance at rodeos held in Browning and at Birch Creek during each summer of fieldwork. The informal grouping in the stands and around the grounds appear to be based on family and friendship ties. Families—parents, children and grandchildren—sit together. People apart from their families sit with their friends. In the rural areas, the spectators sit in cars and trucks, or stand around the arena. They cheer for their kinsmen and friends and jeer at the opposition; it is a lively and often moving crowd. Cultural orientations appear to operate in the smaller groupings that make up the larger crowds.

The sports events draw smaller numbers of people than do the rodeos, but the nature of participation and attendance is similar. One such event, an elementary school track meet I attended, appeared particularly noteworthy because it is comparable in many respects to the Easter Egg Hunt described later in this section.

This track and field meet between the Browning and neighborhood elementary schools was an activity in which children took part without regard to the orientation of their families. It was held at the Browning High School track on a cold, blustery spring day and people of both orientations attended—parents, teachers, and track fans. Informal groupings by family and friends were noted here too, but it was a moving crowd and interaction patterns were hard to identify.

Various other public ceremonies attract participants and on-lookers from all segments of the population, usually on the basis of who has an interest in the particular event scheduled. I recall two such occasions: a ceremony honoring an Air Force contingent from Malmstrom Air Force Base near Great Falls in 1959 and the dedication of a War Veterans memorial by the War Mothers on the grounds of the Museum of the Plains Indian in 1967. Both ceremonies were held on the Museum grounds and drew participants from both orientations—Tribal Councilmen, Honorary Councilmen, the American Legion Color Guard, and in the

[i.e., White vs. Indian-orientation--Analyst]

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latter ceremony, the War Mothers and families of veterans who had died in action.

The Air Force ceremony struck several of us as a test of the time sense of two cultures. Two Air Force generals were to be honored by being given a Blackfeet name and honorary membership in the Blackfeet tribe. The ritual called for a speech by an elderly chief at the conclusion of which he would pronounce the name he was giving the general, and place a war bonnet on the head of the newly adopted tribesman. A second chief would then make the bestowal to the other general. Air Force plans called for a jet plane fly-over as the war bonnet was put on the head of the senior officer. Four members of the Honorary Council, the master of ceremonies and an interpreter, dressed in Indian regalia, stood in an informal group at one side awaiting the beginning of the ceremonies, while to the other an Air Force contingent consisting of the two generals, fifteen full colonels and a captain, and a color guard of a sergeant and five enlisted men, were drawn up in formation. There was much synchronizing of watches on the military side, a relaxed unconcerned waiting on the part of the Blackfeet. The jets were evidently airborne somewhere over the horizon; if there was radio communication between the planes and the group on the ground, I did not see it.

The ceremony began. Air Force participation could be and was done according to a planned time sequence, but no one could predict how long one of the chiefs might choose to speak. Yet even as I was figuring the odds on outcome, the old chief concluded his speech and pronounced the name, the interpreter translated it, the war bonnet went up and the jets came over the horizon, over the group on the ground and out of sight in the direction of Great Falls. Someone, I will never know who, had good medicine.

The War Memorial dedication was a concern of local people and brought together an audience of families of veterans and tribal dignitaries. It marked the success of a drive begun many years earlier by the War Mothers (mothers of war veterans) to raise money for such a memorial, so commemorated too their persistence and hard work. A procession of tribal leaders, some in Indian regalia, the American Legion Color Guard, the Boy Scouts, and the War Mothers was followed by speeches from the Gold Star Mothers and the unveiling of the pylon shaped monument upon which was mounted a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of tribal members who had been killed in action in U.S. wars. Later in the day the War Mothers staged a give-away ceremony in memory of these war dead.

Indian-Oriented Social Occasions

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The social occasions where most of the participants and spectators are people of Indian orientation include several public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some are formal occasions while others are informal in their organization. Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days celebrations at Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodically scheduled Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying communities are frequent forms of public entertainment organized on a less formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

is invited, tacitly or directly, and some of the formal occasions for such congregation are medicine bundle openings, curing ceremonies, song services, and private parties. House to house visiting, gatherings of families and friends, the visiting grouping at the formal public activities, in office buildings and stores, and street corner visiting are kinds of informal private interaction.

The Indian Days celebrations are annual affairs sponsored by the reservation community. The tribal council makes an appropriation to underwrite the celebration, and local businessmen make cash contributions or put up prizes for competitive events. The four day celebration, held in late June or early July, is a reenactment of the traditional Blackfeet summer encampment and advertised widely as a tourist attraction. Families who own tepees are encouraged to pitch them on the encampment grounds and to camp there with their families. Indians from other reservations are invited, resulting in a camp circle of fifty or more tepees formed by local people, visitors from the Canadian Reserves—Blood, North Piegan, Blackfoot and Cree—and from surrounding United States Indian communities—Warm Springs, Yakima, Umatilla, Crow, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Assiniboine, Flathead, and Cree, among others. Sleeping and cooking tents are erected behind the tepee circle and upwards of seven hundred people live on the grounds during the encampment. Each family camping on the grounds is paid a cash allowance toward their maintenance and shares in a daily meat or food ration.

The formal program opens with a parade through the main street of Browning and out to the encampment grounds near the Museum of the Plains Indian, a half mile west of town. A regular program of Indian dancing to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by local and visiting singing groups is scheduled each afternoon, and continues long into the evening if the weather permits.

The dancing sessions are interrupted frequently by both planned and unplanned intermission activities—special dance contests, games, and "give-aways." Some of the last mentioned gift giving ceremonies are sponsored by the Indian Days Committee to honor and give gifts to invited guests from other tribes. Others are put on by individuals and families who wish—and are expected—to give gifts in remembrance of a deceased relative, to give a new and significant Indian name to a child in a public naming ceremony, or to honor some other person by a display of generosity in his name. The person to be honored and his family form a procession and pass four times around the dance arena as the singers drum and sing a favored song. A similar procession is formed for the memorial give-away, and a close relative carries a photograph of the deceased relative. Increasingly distant relatives join the procession with each turn. Quantities of gifts are brought in and at the conclusion of the processional, a crier acting for the family calls out the names of those to be given gifts. Occasionally a tepee with furnishings is given, sometimes horses, more usually blankets, cigarettes, and cash make up the gifts.

Another almost regularly occurring part of the program is a ceremony in which distinguished visitors are adopted into the Blackfeet Tribe. These people are given an Indian name and a war bonnet, or other tokens of their new status, by an honored elder. In 1960, Indian Days coincided with the U.S. Governors

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

554 177 has gained them this status, however, cannot be translated into effective, practical political and economic leadership, so that another type of Indian-oriented leader must fill this gap.

Interpreters,[16] like Raymond Black Plume, form a high status class made up of relatively younger men who are better educated, were raised in Indian-oriented homes, speak both languages fluently, and have assumed, or gained, leadership roles in the community. They express the ambition to "make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best of the white way." They are capable of fitting into a role made necessary by the reservation complex wherein two contrasting societies attempt to function under a common political system. They can talk to and better understand both sides. At the same time, these leaders *are Indian-oriented.* They want to be accepted by the Indian society and want to maintain Indian identity, but both the bicultural milieu and their personal qualities lead to an understanding and participation that differs from that of the chiefs.

The interpreters know much of the old religion and lore. Quite often their fathers had been of the chief class and these men had been taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at finding Christian analogues for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[17]

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[796] The interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and subscribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters frequently put up a tepee for Indian Days, wear a chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian names, and belong to a men's society.

554 177 In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work, and some economic success are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good salaries in agency or council positions but they use this income to help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the ranch in return for some financial support. All share in the profits and losses from the enterprise.

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[16] In an earlier paper I included the interpreters among what I called the 150% Men—people who knew two cultures well (McFee 1968).

[17] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults common to so many Indian reservations even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

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8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tools and utensils, but she was also responsible for the movement of the camp equipment. She dismantled the tipi, caught the reluctant dogs and tackled them to the travois, loaded the travois, and kept the lively dogs in line on the march. Often she carried heavy loads on her own back. At the end of a hard day's journey she could not rest until she had pitched the tipi and fed the family. Furthermore, as indicated above, women rendered active assistance in the co-operative buffalo hunt. In this toilsome life youthful beauty was short lived, and there was little comfort in old age. When they became bent with age and too feeble to follow the moving camp on foot, they were abandoned to face death alone.

Men were hunters, warriors, and craftsmen who made their weapons and their ceremonial and religious equipment. In dog days, when swiftness of foot and physical stamina were decided assets, young men must have been proud to have had the reputation of being good runners who could overtake a buffalo or an enemy on foot. Individuals who achieved outstanding war records, or who possessed powers to call the buffalo or heal the sick, must have enjoyed a distinction among their fellows denied the average man.

Probably many religious beliefs widely held by the forest Algonkian tribes survived among the Blackfeet in dog days. Undoubtedly they shared with the forest tribes a basic belief in the ability of supernatural birds or animals to communicate some of their sacred power to young men who actively sought it through prayers and fasting. This power, they believed, would aid and protect its human beneficiary throughout his life. Men who received power from the same animal, such as the bear, beaver, or buffalo, formed cults and performed ceremonies they believed were sacred to that animal. Perhaps the most important of these animal cults in dog days was that of the beaver, for it was the beaver medicine men whose rituals charmed the buffalo into the corral and brought food to their people in time of need.[18]

[18] Clark Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. VII, Part 2 (1912), 282. Wissler considered the beaver ceremonies the oldest of the many Blackfoot bundle rituals.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

THE HORSE IN RELIGION

THE HORSE MEDICINE CULT

Horse medicine (ponokâmita saám) was and still is considered the most secret and one of the most powerful medicines of the Blackfoot. Wissler (1912 a, pp. 107–111) included a brief description of horse medicine and its uses in his study of Blackfoot ceremonial bundles. That description was based upon information obtained from the aged Piegan, Red Plume, by D. C. Duvall, Wissler's mixblood assistant. All my older informants had great respect for the power of horse medicine. Some of them were afraid to discuss it. One man claimed that if he were to talk of horse medicine he would become paralyzed. Another said if he told me what he knew of horse medicine harm surely would come to both of us. Nevertheless eight of my older informants, including both Piegan and Blood Indians, were willing to discuss this subject with me. In addition, Wallace Night Gun, leader of the horse medicine cult on the Blackfeet Reservation, Mont., during the 1940's, proved a willing and exceedingly helpful informant. His portrait appears on plate 15, A[A]. Wallace Night Gun died in the fall of 1950, aged ca. 78 years. In December of that year his horse medicine bundle was purchased by the Smithsonian Institution. It is catalog No. 387744 in the United States National Museum collections.

Wissler (1912 a, p. 110) was informed that there were "less than twenty horse medicine men." My informants named 21 Piegan, 8 Blood, and 3 North Blackfoot Indians who possessed objects sacred to the horse medicine cult. All were not horse medicine practitioners. Judging from the frequency of their mention by informants the following seem to have been the most prominent and/or most active horse medicine doctors in buffalo days: the Piegan Indians Wolf Calf, Fish Child, White Antelope, Boy, and Generous Woman; the Blood Indians Water-Old-Man, Owner-of-Sacred-White-Horse, Many-Spotted-Horses, and Ghost Woman; and the North Blackfoot Indian, Yellow Lodge. Ghost Woman was the only female known to have possessed horse medicine powers.

Among the South Piegan, at least, the horse medicine men comprised an organized cult, the members of which attended the cult ceremony, the horse dance, in a body, interchanged secrets of the uses of specific medicines, and throughout much if not all of the cult's known history had a recognized leader. In the middle and late 19th

A[A] [See category 115, p. 358-N--Analyst]

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794 T18 century Wolf Calf was the leader. In recent years, and until his death, Wallace Night Gun held that position.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE PIEGAN HORSE MEDICINE CULT

794 T92 Wallace Night Gun and most older informants regarded Wolf Calf, Wallace's maternal grandfather, as the originator of the horse medicine cult among the Piegan. Wolf Calf, also known as Pemmican Maker, died shortly before 1900. He was a friend and informant of George Bird Grinnell, who was inclined to credit Wolf Calf's claim to membership in the Piegan party that met and fought Capt. Meriwether Lewis' small force on or near the present Blackfeet Reservation in 1806. Grinnell reckoned Wolf Calf's age at 102 in 1895 (Wheeler 1904, vol. 2, pp. 311–312; Grinnell's photograph of Wolf Calf, p. 313).

794 [T87] Wallace Night Gun said Wolf Calf was a young man when he began to dream of horse medicine. As Night Gun recalled Wolf Calf's explanation of the origin of horse medicine, it happened in this way:

794 231 In Wolf Calf's youth the Piegan owned horses and had lost all fear of these animals. Nevertheless, they had never been able to capture any of the wild horses with long manes and shaggy tails which they saw in their country. Whenever they got close to the wild horses they ran away. One day, while Wolf Calf's band was moving camp, members saw some wild horses in the distance. A party of men (including Wolf Calf) rode after them and chased them for miles. They caught up with one of the wild ones, roped it and threw it. They put a war bridle on it and led it back to camp. When it was tied, all the people gathered around it. The horse was quiet. It stood still and looked around. Members of the group who had captured the animal agreed to give it to Wolf Calf to keep with his herd. Wolf Calf necked the horse with one of his mares. For 3 days the wild horse was well behaved and remained beside the mare. On the fourth day Wolf Calf decided to let it run with his herd. That night the wild horse disappeared and did not come back.

Later Wolf Calf had a troublesome stallion in his herd named Gone-in-Different-Brush. It had a habit of leaving the herd, mixing with the horses of other owners and biting them. One day a man came to Wolf Calf and told him, "Take that stallion, throw him and cut him, so he won't bother our herds." Wolf Calf asked his boy to get the horse. "We shall halter break him, throw him and I'll castrate him." The boy went after the horse but it got away from him and again bothered the other man's herd. Then that man told his boys, "I'll fix him." He roped the stallion, threw him, and tied bones to his forelock and around his neck. After the stallion was untied he ran away bucking and jumping as fast as he could go. "Now," said the man, "he will never come back." But after a while he saw the horse returning. The bones were gone from its forelock and neck. Again and again the man tried to keep the bothersome bones on the stallion, but without success. Finally, in desperation, the man threw the horse down, roached his mane, cut his tail short, and tied rawhide tightly in his short tail. Again he released the stallion, saying, "Now he will never come back." But next morning the man found Wolf Calf's stallion back in his herd. His tail and mane had grown long. On his head was paint—red and white clay. Then the man told his boys, "Let that horse alone. We can do nothing with him."

All this time Wolf Calf didn't know how his stallion had been treated by his neighbor. One night his stallion, Gone-in-Different-Brush, appeared to him in his dream, and said, "Father, tell that man to let me alone. Don't let him abuse me any more. Help me and I shall give you great power that you can use all your life." Wolf Calf then told his neighbor, "Don't harm that horse any more. I'll catch him and break him." Wolf Calf broke the stallion and always was careful to treat him well, petting him and giving him special attention. [194 187 231]

About a year later the stallion again appeared to Wolf Calf in a dream. "Father," he said, "I am grateful for your kindness to me. I want to repay you. You will always have a lot of horses. Wherever you are I shall be with you to help you. Now I shall give you the sacred dance of the horses. We dance it. It will be your secret. Let your people keep it from generation to generation."

Each time Wolf Calf caught his stallion after that he saw paint on it. The horse grew old and Wolf Calf continued to dream of it. It became so old grass dropped from its mouth when it fed. Finally it died. Then Wolf Calf cut some of the dead horse's mane and the soft chestnut from one leg and kept them in a bundle in his lodge as a remembrance of his favorite horse. [198]

Wolf Calf felt badly and continued to think of that horse. A few months later he had a dream in which the wild horse he had kept in his herd for 4 days some years before appeared to him. The wild horse said, "I know you miss your favorite horse. I want you to know I appreciate what you did for me too. You didn't kill me, but let me go. Father, I am Sitting-on-a-Hill. I shall give you my power. I'll give you all the roots that grow in the ground that we horses like to eat. They will be your medicine." [194 187 218]

Later Wolf Calf, in another dream, saw people dancing the horse dance. They were arguing. One said, "What shall we do?" Another said, "We shall give him secret power to cure the people?" The first one said, "No, we shall give him secret power to cure horses." Finally they agreed, "Let us throw these powers together. Let us give him power to do both."

Then Wolf Calf told his friends of his dreams for the first time. "I have dreamed of this power a long time. Through my horses and these men I was given secret power. I am going to dance the dance just as I saw it. I shall call it the horse dance." The people gathered to watch Wolf Calf dance the horse dance.

Some time later Wolf Calf was watching horses grazing beside a river. As he approached he saw them pawing with their forefeet, digging up roots. He found a root partly unearthed and picked it up. It was about 6 inches long. When he started home with it the horses followed him. That night he was told in another dream, "This root you found will be good for many things. If a horse is sick take some of this root, grind it into a powder and mix it with sage. Then give it to the sick horse. Put it in water, throw the horse down and let him drink it. The horse will be able to eat and you will save it." Then Wolf Calf gave another dance and gathered the people around. He told them of his new power. They agreed, "This is a very powerful dance." [194 187 218 231] [196]

Wolf Calf tried all the medicines he was told of in dreams. Some were for sickness. If a man couldn't eat, a certain root would restore his appetite. If someone felt lazy a little powdered medicine would make him feel energetic again. There was also a medicine to turn a fine day into a raging blizzard or to make rain come on a dry day. [194 187 218]

Then Wolf Calf told the people, "If anyone is sick we shall give the secret horse dance. It will pull him through. If a war party is surrounded by the enemy and one of that party vows to give me a feast and invite me to dance, that man will escape unharmed." [194 196] [155] [189]

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Night Gun said Wolf Calf transferred some of his horse medicine power to his son-in-law, Fish Child. Fish Child then began to have dreams of horse medicine. He and Wolf Calf decided to pool their knowledge. Lazy Boy claimed Fish Child's primary contribution was his discovery of a medicine for stimulating an exhausted horse. Lazy Boy credited Wolf Calf with originating the use of horse medicine for influencing the actions of race horses. Fish Child transferred horse medicine to Boy (born ca. 1848), the Gros Ventres brought up by a Piegan chief. Boy dreamed of a whip and a rope. These sacred articles were added to the leader's bundle and have been employed in the horse dance ceremony ever since.

Night Gun mentioned no other Piegan who made any significant contribution to the elaboration of the sacred paraphernalia, ritual, or medicinal practices of Piegan horse medicine men. He was familiar with the history of some of the transfers of this power among the Piegan. Fish Child transferred some of his power to Stingy, the blind man renowned as a breeder of horses, who in turn transferred at least a part of his paraphernalia, "the double whip," to Eagle Child, who died near Starr School in 1941. Fish Child also transferred some of his power to White Grass, a band chief. In his last illness Fish Child gave his power to his son, Black Coyote (born ca. 1831). Weasel Head (who died in 1943) received some horse medicine from Boy.

Tracing the transfers from Wolf Calf since the time of his exchange of medicines with Fish Child, Night Gun told of at least one occasion on which Wolf Calf aided White Quiver, the most successful of all Piegan horse raiders, by giving him one of the plumes from his bundle and explaining how it could be used to bring stormy weather when White Quiver approached an enemy camp to capture horses. Wolf Calf also gave some medicine and a plume to Iron Shield. Little Plume received some of Wolf Calf's medicine, and shortly before his death gave it to his brother, Yellow Kidney (still living). The gift included two horse medicine songs.

Night Gun said his grandfather, Wolf Calf, carefully taught him the songs and ritual of the horse dance and the uses of some horse medicines. Wolf Calf intended for Night Gun to be his successor as leader of the cult. However, when Wolf Calf died, his son White Antelope (born ca. 1860) claimed the sacred horse medicine bundle. There was an argument and Mike Short Man and White Antelope split the bundle. White Antelope lost interest in horse medicine, but noted that Phillip Arrowtop was becoming interested in it. On his death White Antelope left the bundle to Wallace Night Gun with the provision that Phillip Arrowtop (still living) should be given some of the paraphernalia and medicines. This was done. When Mike-

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Short Man was near death he offered his horse medicine to Night Gun, but the latter requested that it be transferred to Herman Dusty Bull, who wanted it. On Herman's death, his brother, Charles Dusty Bull (still living) acquired this bundle, said to contain paints, feathers, and some horse medicines.

These data indicate that the Piegan horse medicine cult originated in the visions of one man, Wolf Calf, and was elaborated by the contributions of at least two others, who willingly pooled their knowledge with Wolf Calf. Since their time nothing has been added to the ritual, materia medica, or medicinal practices of the cult. Horse medicine powers were transferred to many other men. There was a tendency for them to be transferred in fullblood families from brother to brother or father to son. In the process much knowledge of the employment of horse medicines was lost. In recent years the possession of horse medicine songs and paraphernalia, entitling the owner to attend and participate in the horse dance, has been coveted, while there has been little interest in the use of horse medicine to cure or influence the actions of horses. It is certain that the uses of many specific medicines are no longer known. In the early 1940's, only Wallace Night Gun and Phillip Arrowtop were thought to be capable of using horse medicines. In recent years the primary function of the cult has been the observance of the traditional horse dance for the purpose of curing sick humans.

That this is not a comprehensive history of the Piegan horse medicine cult is apparent from the fact that elderly informants named other horse medicine men active in that tribe in buffalo days. While it is probable these men obtained their powers from Wolf Calf they may have made some independent discoveries.

My eldest male informants, Lazy Boy and Weasel Tail, claimed that Water-Old-Man, a Blood Indian, older than Wolf Calf, possessed and used horse medicine before Wolf Calf originated the cult among the Piegan. If that is true, Wolf Calf's dreams may have been conditioned by his knowledge of Water-Old-Man's practices. In the Blood tribe, as among the Piegan, there was a tendency for horse medicine power to be transferred within families. However, Weasel Tail could not recall two members of the same family possessing this power at the same time. No one now living on the Blood Reserve has knowledge of the use of horse medicine in the opinion of all Blood informants questioned on this point. The bundles of the best-remembered practitioners in that tribe, Water-Old-Man and Owner-of-a-Sacred-White-Horse, were said to have been buried with them. Ghost Woman, the last Blood Indian known to have made extensive use of horse medicine, died about 1925. Knowledge of its use was lost on her death although her bundle remained in her family. Although

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my informants had knowledge of the existence of the horse medicine cult among the North Blackfoot, I obtained no history of that cult.

Older informants said that in their youth some horse medicine men were regarded by laymen of that tribe as possessors of much greater powers than others. Some horse medicine men also were recognized as specialists in the use of horse medicines for specific purposes. There was rivalry between horse medicine men of the three Blackfoot tribes.

Scraping White told of a contest between Water-Old-Man, the noted Blood practitioner, and Berry Eater, a leading North Blackfoot horse medicine man, which took place in his father's time (i. e. probably before 1860). They decided to test their respective powers by racing on horseback over the ice of a frozen river. Members of both tribes placed bets on the outcome of the race. Water-Old-Man rode a buckskin, Berry Eater a sorrel. Neither horse was an experienced racer. Before they started each rider invoked the aid of his medicine. They ran their horses at full speed over the slippery river ice. As they neared the opposite shore, Berry Eater's horse slipped just enough to throw it off stride. Water-Old-Man's horse finished strong, won the race, and the Blood Indians collected their winnings. Probably this was the contest referred to by Wissler (1912, a, p. 111).

TRANSFER OF HORSE MEDICINE POWER

The common procedure for obtaining horse medicine, in the lifetime of my informants (both Blood and Piegan), was for a person seeking this power to go to a recognized horse medicine man and offer him gifts of horses, robes, blankets, money or other valuables, along with a pipe, saying, "I want some of your horse medicine," and naming the use the seeker wished to make of it. If the horse medicine man did not wish to grant the request, either because the payment did not appear adequate or for any other reason, he refused to accept the pipe. Then he sang some of his horse medicine songs to avoid bad luck coming his way because of his refusal. If the horse medicine man accepted the pipe he called all the other members of his village who possessed horse medicine power to a horse dance for the purpose of making the transfer and explaining to the neophyte how to make use of the medicine. If, after receiving the medicine, the recipient should still be doubtful regarding any detail of its use, he returned to the man from whom he had secured the power, made an additional payment and requested further instruction.

Weasel Tail recalled his own failure to obtain horse medicine. His experience furnishes a first-hand account of the transfer procedure:

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

existed. Nevertheless the available data from the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Assiniboin, Crow, Arikara, Teton Dakota, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Chiricahua Apache indicate a common substratum of beliefs and usages which strongly suggests that the horse medicine cults of these tribes were historically related. Native testimony to the effect that the Assiniboin and Crow derived their horse-medicine cults from the Blackfoot suggests that the Blackfoot were at least a secondary center of diffusion of the cult. However, native traditions also suggest that the Oglala and Cheyenne as well as the Blackfoot possessed active horse-medicine cults early in the 19th century. I have cited proof of the existence of the cult among the Arikara as early as 1803–4. It is probable that some tribes of the Great Plains possessed horse medicine cults in the 18th century, although the evidence is insufficient to enable me to name them.

The horse-medicine cult certainly appears to have been a native invention. Possibly it began to develop shortly after the acquisition of horses in response to the need for the services of veterinarians to care for these precious possessions. Their actions clothed in secrecy, blessed with supernatural sanctions, and embellished with elaborate ritual, their powers feared by their fellow tribesmen, these primitive horse doctors may have extended their activities to include the control of the actions of horses in the hunt, in war, and in horse races, and added some of the functions of the earlier cult of healers of sick humans. On the other hand, the first horse medicine men may have been persons who had previously treated humans and/or dogs, and who already possessed considerable knowledge of the medicinal plants of their tribal habitats. Through processes of trial and error they may have discovered additional medicines which proved efficacious in the treatment of horses. Although ritual and magical factors played prominent roles in the use of horse medicines, there was an empirical element in the selection of plant materials administered in the curing rituals.

SACRIFICE OF HORSES AFTER THE DEATH OF THEIR OWNERS

A Blackfoot Indian felt a strong attachment for his favorite horse, his trusted companion on the buffalo hunt and scalp raid. If this animal died it was not unusual for his proud owner to weep publicly. The owner might request his family to have his favorite horse killed beside his own burial place, if that horse survived him. Thus the close companionship between man and horse might continue in the spirit world. However, poor families, who could not afford to sacrifice a horse, more commonly cut short the mane and tail of the deceased owner's favorite mount. Green Grass Bull explained that the horse was then considered to be in mourning for its owner in much the

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

175 many changes of clothing and seek handsome gear to show off their
231 horses. The decadence of slave raiding decreased women's fears of
182 being taken captive by alien peoples.

562 The coming of the horse offered greater security to the aged and the physically handicapped. Whereas their lives were formerly sacrificed because they could not be taken along with the moving camp, these
175 people could live well in the Horse Culture Period if they owned horses
231 which others might use to kill buffalo and move camp for them.
182 Stingy, the wealthy, blind, influential Piegan (frequently mentioned in previous pages), probably would have died in infancy had he been
888 born during the Pedestrian Culture Period.

794 The band, basic political and residential unit among the Blackfoot, probably was a stable, exogamic organization of blood relatives, led
175 by the most able, mature man in the group in the Pedestrian Culture
231 Period. By the waning decades of buffalo days the Blackfoot band
182 had become a fluid organization, composed both of related and unrelated families, within which marriage was permitted. Necessity for
621 extensive reorganization of bands following serious plagues and war losses in historic times undoubtedly contributed to this change in the character of Blackfoot bands. Dependence of the poor in horses upon the charity of wealthy leaders helped to keep the bands fluid. The poor followed the leader who was able and willing to offer them the greatest security through dispensing gifts of food and gifts or loans of horses. They readily shifted their band allegiance if they thought they could improve their condition thereby.

175 It is doubtful whether the ability to dispense individually owned
231 property to other band members was a factor of any importance in
182 the selection of a band chief in the Pedestrian Culture Period when, presumably, there were no marked extremes of wealth and poverty.
622 However, in the Horse Culture Period requirements for band leadership came to include considerable wealth and a willingness to employ it for the alleviation of the poor.

INFLUENCE ON RELIGION

231 If the Blackfoot Indians looked upon dogs as sacred animals in
778 the days when dogs were their only domesticated animals, their descendants appear to have no traditions regarding that attitude. I
[749 have found no trace in Blackfoot culture of a dog cult organized for the express purpose of appealing to dog spirits for aid in doctoring or influencing the actions of dogs.

771 On the other hand, the horse came to occupy a position of consider-
231 able prominence in Blackfoot religious beliefs and rituals. The sud-
182 den appearance of this animal, whose services did so much to lighten the daily tasks of the Indians and to raise their standard of living,

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

demanded an explanation. The Blackfoot looked upon the horse as a godsend. In their mythology it was represented as a gift of powerful sky or water spirits. Horses were thought to possess supernatural powers. The ability of certain horses to perform feats of unusual strength or endurance was proof to the Indians that those animals possessed those powers to a very high degree.

Some horses were believed to have appeared to their owners in dreams and conferred their powers upon them. Through such transference of powers the secret horse medicine cult was believed to have originated. The relatively few members of this cult carefully guarded their knowledge of the origin of their medicines and restricted their use by outsiders in such a way that their secrets would not be revealed. Members were feared and respected by fellow tribesmen to the extent that many aged Indians still fear to discuss the cult. There are no other Blackfoot ceremonial organizations whose secrets have been so closely guarded, with the possible exceptions of the Horn Society among the Blood and the Tobacco Planters of the North Blackfoot. The influence of horse medicine men's activities pervaded the fields of warfare, hunting, recreation, and curing, as well as the daily lives of their people. Their ritual practices were designed to heal sick and wounded horses and to cure humans, to revive exhausted horses, to assist individuals in capturing horses from the enemy or in handicapping enemy war horses, to prevent hunting horses from falling in slippery winter weather and to retard the movements of buffalo in the hunt, to handicap race horses, to capture wild horses, and to prevent horses from straying from their owner's herds. Their ceremony, the horse dance, followed the generalized Blackfoot ceremonial bundle pattern but had distinctive features. Taboos observed by horse medicine men also were distinctive. There was a close relationship between the horse medicine men and owners of medicine pipes whom the horse specialists customarily aided. These specialists also aided other Indians in the preparation of protective "horse bridles" worn under the heads of war horses on scalp raids.

Indirectly the influence of the horse affected other Blackfoot religious rituals. Horse payments were invariably made as inducements to owners of ceremonial bundles to transfer their power to prospective purchasers. At intervals throughout the tribal Sun Dance ceremony participants were required to recite their coups, most commonly acquired through raiding for horses. In the two cases of self-torture during a Sun Dance that have been recorded in detail, the suppliants are known to have vowed to undergo the torture just before entering enemy camps to take horses.

Finally the horse was given a role of prominence in burial and mourning rites. The favorite horses of a wealthy individual were

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Indian pony gradually was replaced by larger and stronger animals resulting from the breeding of white men's work horses with the Indians' stock.

Nevertheless, the continuity of Blackfoot culture was not entirely broken by the cultural revolution that followed the disappearance of the buffalo and the abandonment of the nomadic, hunting existence. In the 1940's, six decades after the buffalo were gone, the influence of the Horse Culture Period of buffalo days survived. Survivals were noticeable in Blackfoot work habits, their concepts of wealth, their recreation, social relations, and ideals.

After the buffalo were gone the Blackfoot took readily to cattle raising but showed little interest in or aptitude for farming, which involved techniques and procedures alien to their experience. In the 1940's Agricultural Extension Agents on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana recognized that the successful Indian farmers were persons of considerable white admixture. The fullblood group showed little interest in settling on the irrigated projects to grow crops. Fullbloods still preferred to make their living by raising livestock, primarily cattle and sheep. This preference is traceable to the tribe's generations of accumulated experience in the care of horses and its lack of crop-growing traditions.

I have pointed out (p. 30) the survival of the concept of wealth in terms of horse ownership among the older fullbloods on this reservation, even though horses in the 1940's had relatively little monetary value. This is definitely a survival from the days when individual wealth was determined primarily in terms of horse ownership.

I have also (p. 234) referred to the survival of interest in horse racing, long a favorite sport among the Blackfoot. In fact their ready acceptance of the entire rodeo complex may be attributed to their background of appreciation of skill in the handling of horses.

There remains an appreciation of the value of ceremonial bundles among the Blackfoot which is out of all proportion to the function of those bundles in the religious life of these people in modern times. A number of bundle owners have neither the knowledge nor the desire to use these sacred bundles ceremonially. Yet they are reluctant to part with them, mindful of the fact that their former owners prized them as equivalent in value to many horses. The horse medicine cult, though limited in function, still holds a respected position in the religious life of the fullbloods.

Blackfoot social relations are still marked by the dependence of poor relatives upon tribal members who have achieved a degree of economic success. This drain of the "have-nots" upon the "haves" has the effect of limiting the economic progress of ambitious indi-

641 boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect
665 it. Democrats, Republicans, Independents and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

Education

871 The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive Federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL874).[38]
872 Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant and staff, are found
873 in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning,
368 Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and Other Organizations

794 Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States and need little discussion. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers
575 here, and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area. The particular organizations active on the reservation will be discussed later.

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[38] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1950, LXIV, Part 1, p. 1100.

177 taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not
184 committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and
565
554 often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for
177 elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at
184 finding Christian analogs for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined
565 minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian
554 attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence
771
795 that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[196]

177 The Interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are
184 given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional
565 wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are
554 sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and sub-
[796] scribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters put up a tepee for Indian Days,
[186] wear a Chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian names and belong to a men's society.

In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work and some economic success, are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The Interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good

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[794] [196] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND CULTS.

794 Under this head we have considered a number of ceremonies participated in by groups or organizations in contrast to the individual ceremonies connected with medicine bundles. Here again, we find the ritualistic conceptions of Blackfoot culture prevailing in the form of bundles and formulae of individual character, even though the owners form a group. One gets into a cult by having a bundle provided at the hands of other members, but once in he is expected to remain, though in practice, individuals often do [177] transfer their bundles and hence their memberships. The peyote cult seems not to have reached the Blackfoot, neither did the ghost dance craze move them, unless the recently borrowed black-tailed deer dance should be of such origin.

794 184 As to the distribution of these religious societies we note that the dance of the dead and the all-smoking ceremony were known to all the divisions. The crow-water and the stick-game dance were practised by the Piegan alone. The black-tailed-deer dance was known to the Piegan and perhaps the Blood, our information as to the latter being doubtful. These taken with the preceding societies constitute all the strictly religious organisations we have so far discovered among the Blackfoot. All that remains for future discussion is the tribal ceremony of the sun dance.

The Crow-Water Society.

794 177 There flourishes among the Piegan a religious society, or perhaps an organized cult, believed to have originated among the Crow Indians. The native name seems to signify "those that own the Crow power of waters," but is sometimes rendered as "Crow beaver medicine owners" implying a similarity to the beaver bundles described in a previous paper. A Piegan named Iron, living in 1903, claimed to have founded this society which he acquired while living among the Crow Indians. Later, he was assisted by an old woman named Good-captures. Though a Piegan, she was in early life captured by the Crow and lived with them ever afterward. She made long visits to her Piegan relatives during which she taught them the ceremony. Hence, this society cannot be more than forty years old. Nevertheless, it is a strong and flourishing organization.

The following is the substance of the founder's narrative:—

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He brought it from the Crow where he lived some twelve years. He knew that it came from the seven stars. The Crow gave him some seeds of a small plant with a song, which gave him a membership. After a time he dreamed of six dwarfs and they gave him power to get horses, property, food, and long life. Since that time he has always had abundance. When he came back to the Piegan, he sold or transferred to Curly-bear some of his power and since that time the latter has prospered. He claims that all of the members are prosperous. When a member is taken in he is given the skin of an otter, blackbird, weasel, beaver, or something with a song. These songs must have been dreamed by some of the members. Women can be taken in alone, but if married, both husband and wife must join; likewise when a man joins, his wife must enter. A man joins by calling upon a member, making him gifts and asking him for some of the Crow-water power. These gifts are supposed to be many quilts, horses, etc. Each member gives him some object and an associated song.

The members receiving the gifts must divide them among other members as far as they will go, one thing for each. Each one receiving a horse must contribute some object, a song and some power, the others are free to choose. Thus, the highest price paid for membership brings the most medicines. The objects are placed in a bundle which becomes the new member's individual medicine. They are not treated as most medicine bundles, but may be opened at any time.

In the ceremonies the women usually do the dancing. The men seldom dance but do the singing. The women do not sing when they are dancing. There are no regular times for meetings, but it is usual to hold them every Sunday and at the time of the new moon. Ceremonies are held in compliance with vows of outsiders or members as with other medicines, but they may meet on any occasion. The number of members is not limited in any way. None of the proceedings are secret. Everybody may look in, but only members can come inside of the tipi or ceremonial circle.

The members usually paint their faces yellow, with red bars across the mouth and forehead. A rectangle of red is also made upon the backs of the hands. A few plumes and feathers are worn on the head. There are no other regalia, the chief things being the individual bundles of the members.

The taboos observed by bundle owners are also in evidence. Neither marrow nor bones may be placed in the fire or the owner's horse will have his leg broken. Lodge pins must not be put in the fire or the owner will have a tumor (?); nor must iron be put in the fire and allowed to become red hot, or the owner's teeth will fall out. If lodge poles are burnt up, horses will die. The owner must not touch moccasins while smoking; he will have a scabby mouth. Moccasins placed under the bed will bring bad luck. When dancing and smoking, if one should pass in front of him, the smoker goes blind. He must not lend a blanket to another as this will bring bad results.

The medicine formula or power may be used as follows: — If a member wishes a horse, he calls in other members and sings the songs and offers prayers. It is believed that one so doing will soon be called upon for some service and receive a horse as a fee. Other wishes may be gratified in the same way. An outsider desiring anything may formally announce that he provides food and presents for a meeting. Then members assemble and hold a meeting. This is usual in sickness. Vows to provide the feast may be made as in case of medicine bundles.[1]

[1] Vol. 7, 148, 172.

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794 796 [756] The following account is by Owl-top, an active member of this society:

The dance may be given at any time. Sometimes when a person has made a vow to give a feast because of someone who is sick the members, who are notified, pray for the sick person. As soon as he recovers, the person who made the vow makes a berry soup and goes to one of the members and tells him to have the dance. In entering the place where the ceremony is to be held, the members pass around the left of the fire to the right and take their seats. They must not pass in front of those who are already seated, but behind them. When seated the members place their bundles in front of them. In leaving the dance tipi there is no rule, the members may go out in any manner they wish.

The man who cares for the pipe, furnishes the tobacco, and tends to the fire is seated at the left of the fire in front of the other members. Sometimes he also heats the skin on the drums, if it should loosen, in order that the drums should give a better sound when the skin is stretched. No one must ever pass in front of this man. The pipe is passed from right to left in smoking. As each man has his bundle lying in front of him a smudge is made, and after the bundle has been held over the sweetgrass smudge, it is unwrapped and the first person at the left sings to the accompaniment of six or eight drums.

The women are seated on the left and they rise and dance, the person leading in the song signalling with the skin or bird he holds, while the women imitate his movements. Each man sings all of his songs, the others joining him. After each man has sung his songs the dance ends. The men may dance if they wish to do so.

The person who makes the vow gives one of the members a horse and clothing, as well as the food. These gifts are divided among the members. Even if a man has purchased membership, his fees are divided among all the members.

When it is time for the feast, a smudge is made on the southeast of the fireplace and the pot of berries held over it, set down on the smudge, and then placed near. The person who made the vow passes the food and just before eating each one takes up a berry and holding it up, prays. Then they all hold up the dishes with the food a little above their heads, set them down, and begin to eat. The members usually pray for the sick person for whom the vow was made. Formerly, only members were given food and allowed to witness the dance but now all onlookers are given food. During the dance they pray for health and happiness. Anyone of the members, when he wishes to do so, may give the dance.

794 [782] [431] If a member should be a guest anywhere and be offered a pipe, he must always blow some of the smoke toward any medicine bundle that may be hanging up. If one member visit another, the host must always give his visitor a present of some sort. If he was nothing to give he will give a song. This refers only to those living some distance from each other.

794 432 [424] If anyone wishes to buy into the society, he fills a pipe and offers it to one of the members, at the same time asking him for some of his medicine objects. The member calls on the person from whom he bought the object to assist him. If the purchaser has a wife, she is also made a member.

First, the three men go through the sweat house ceremony. Then they go to the seller's house.

The new member calls the seller his father, and the man from whom his father bought, his grandfather. The father has no authority in the transfer, the grandfather doing everything. After the sweat house ceremony the new member and his

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wife are given some clothing. In all, four sweat houses must be made but there is no rule as to the interval between the making of each sweat house, it being merely a matter of convenience. After the fourth sweat house and dance, the new member and his wife go to the dance taking with them blankets, calico, and probably eight horses to be given as a fee to the father. The grandfather has first choice of the horses and the rest of the things are divided among the members. Then all the members spread open their bundles and the new member may choose one object from each bundle. With each object he is given a song. If at any time the new member should visit his grandfather, he must give him a present.

Women as well as men are taken into this society, some unmarried women being members. During the dance, if there is a large attendance, each member sings only three or four of his songs, as it would take too long for everyone to sing all his songs.

Members of the society recognize the following taboos: bones must not be heated inside of a member's tipi; meat must not be cut in a kettle, nor must a knife be used to stir food while it is cooking; the picket pins must never be burned, should one be burned horses will be lost. When a member dreams of some new thing to be made up, he goes to his grandfather to do so and pays him for it. After the new medicine has been made up, he tells the others about it.

The different medicine objects in the bundles are: mink, muskrat, otter belt, weasel, blackbird, sparrows, night hawks, beaver, magpies, snow birds, a wooden hand, a whistle, robins, and other birds.

The power of this society consists in causing its members to become wealthy. Also, when the members pray, it cures the sick.

Before Owl-top joined this society an old woman, who came from the Crow, gave him a yellow shirt, a yellow robe, and a riding whip for which he gave her two horses and other things. The shirt, robe, and riding whip belong to the Crow-water medicine society. The old woman told him that some time one of his mares would have a pinto colt, and that whenever this happened, he would have many differently colored horses. Long after she told him this, he dreamed four times of many differently colored horses. Then he believed what she had told him. Now, it has been some time since the old woman told him about this pinto colt, and none of his mares have ever born such a colt, but his son-in-law's mares have had two pinto colts. He believes these are the colts the old woman prophesied about and thinks that now his horses will begin to increase. This society came from the Crow, but it is not known how the Crow got it.

We previously published two origin myths for the crow-water formula, one of which was evidently devised from the beaver bundle cycle.[1] In both, however, the Crow origin of the society is emphatically announced. Since Dr. R. H. Lowie, who has made a thorough study of the Crow, finds no similar society among them, some discussion seems necessary. The fact that two individuals contributed to the society seems to favor the existence of some parent ceremony among the Crow. On the other hand, the bundles and procedures of the society are typically Blackfoot, the only distinguishing characteristic as such, being the grouping of bundle owners into an organiza-

[1] Vol. 2, 77, 86.

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794 177 174 tion. In a previous paper we discussed the ceremonial system of the Blackfoot, calling attention to the existence of a great stimulus to produce new bundles and rituals. From what we know of Blackfoot life, the most probable thing is that the founders of this society took a suggestion from Crow culture, by which they constructed a new ceremony. According to Dr. Lowie's Crow data, it seems that the most likely characteristic to impress a Blackfoot visiting the Crow would be the society organization in the tobacco ceremonies, since that feature is decidedly in contrast to the Blackfoot system of individually owned bundles. Hence, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that the founder (Iron) grasped the notion of a society organized on lines similar to the tobacco societies of the Crow. As previously noted, we fail to find any definite common inter-tribal elements, except the suggestion of the name and some mention of tobacco seeds. As to the name—the designation of this society as the Crow-beaver may have been due to the tobacco function of a beaver bundle owner presenting the only true Blackfoot analogy to the Crow tobacco society. Some of the Piegan members of this society had in their bundles small buckskin bags containing tobacco seeds which they said came from the Crow. These were not planted but used as ceremonial objects. We found no evidence of any member planting tobacco or that any considerable number of members possessed such tobacco. On the other hand, some members did dream of the "dwarfs"[1] who play an important part in the beaver bundle ritual, but they also had dreams of other mythical creatures. It seems then, that while there is some basis for the hypothesis that the name Crow-water society is the Blackfoot rendering of the Crow tobacco society and that the gross organization of each is similar there the resemblances cease. The hypothetical character of the foregoing should be noted. It seems a reasonable assumption that the Blackfoot enthusiasts who promoted the new society, gave it its overwhelming Blackfoot character, perhaps in spite of the wishes of the founders.

The Black-Tailed Deer Dance

794 [769] [787] [177] This cult flourishes among the Piegan. The chief function of the cult is to make the capture of the deer easy, since members usually have dream revelations as to the whereabouts of deer. One member told us that in his dreams three catholic nuns always appeared and gave the information. It is certain that the whole ceremony was recently introduced from the Kootenay, some of the charter members being still among the living.

[1] Vol. 7, 200.

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The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbolize the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' individual bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our collection of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who came under the power of these songs.[1] Thus, it is said that a member painting his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations.

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs are dreamed.

The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Sometimes it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is sometimes given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to show their respect to the rest of the dancers.

At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same movements. The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays. Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others following him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays, and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

[1] Vol. 2, 188.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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794 796 535 through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

[534] [925] Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given them power or songs in their dreams.

[789] The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

794 173 787 A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time, while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He supported himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you. I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it. Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top, you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

794 [224] [789] [796] [237] [824] [302] Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more frequently used for the smudge than sweetgrasses. The members paint in red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

794 789 224 [784] Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food, nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game. When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the fireplace.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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Dance for the Spirits of the Dead.

This ceremony is often spoken of as a ghost dance but seems to be an ancient cult. The idea was to make a dance for the dead to which their spirits were invited. At one stage of the ceremony a herald goes outside to invite the spirits, beginning his announcement by he-e-e, repeated four times. He must not, however, call any ghost by name. The dance seems to be founded upon an incident in the Blood-clot myth,[1] when the hero organized a dance in the stomach of the monster. "When he got into the stomach of the fish, he saw a great many people. Many of them were dead, but some were still alive. He said to the people, 'Ah, there must be a heart somewhere here. We will have a dance.' So he painted his face white, his eyes and mouth with black circles, and tied a white rock knife on his head, so that the point stuck up. Some rattles made of hoofs were also brought. Then the people started in to dance. For a while Blood-clot sat making wing-motions with his hands, and singing songs. Then he stood up and danced, jumping up and down until the knife on his head struck the heart."

The curious idea seems to prevail that the dance is also for those near death or about to become ghosts and that these Blood-clot directed to at least move their heads in unison with the dancers.

The following are two independent narratives of origin myths for the ceremony:—

(a)

A man once pitched his camp far from any others. He had a wife and little boy. After he had been there some time, his wife died. He stayed with her in the tipi for four days and then decided to go away. He took the boy, but before he had gone very far, he heard a voice say, "Go back and stay with your wife. We will help you bring her to life again."

He didn't see who it was that spoke but returned. That night he lay in his tipi and heard people singing and dancing but could see no one. The people he heard dancing were ghosts. They said, "We will dance four nights and restore life to your wife." The man stayed four nights and each night heard the dancers when awake, and saw them in his dreams. After the fourth night his wife lived again. The ghosts gave him the dance and when he returned to his people, he taught them the dance which is still held.

(b)

One time, when a war party was returning after a long journey, one of the members of the party died. His companions made a lodge of brush and trees and left him there. A ghost came to where the man lay and pitied him, invited a number of

[1] Vol. 2, 56.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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794 769 773 173 539 ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to the people.

794 769 302 The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

794 769 778 237 824 531 276 532

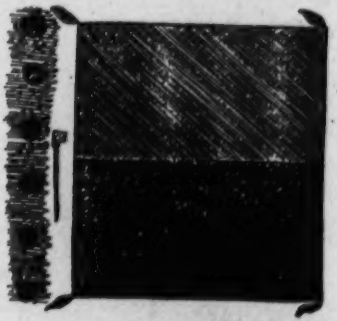

Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

794 769 [292] [796] There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and songs. Women dance with the men.

A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great abundance of food is expected.

794 769 796 535

[799] [302] [779] The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end. At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to

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the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they rise to their feet. 794 769 796 535

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No dead person should be designated by name. [784] [551]

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses. [789]

The All-Smoking Ceremony.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name kanochisisin, or all-smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony." 794 [424] [432]

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have owned the most medicines. [554] 794 796 554

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues, eberries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said [782] 794 796

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794 and a smudge made. The tongues are boiled all day and in the evening added to the
796 berries and blood. During the day, a stick to which is fastened some sage grass at
either end and calico or a piece of skin at the middle, is tied to a tipi pole as an offer-
782 ing to the sun.
788 The leader takes his place at the rear of the tipi to the left. A young single man is called upon to tend the smudge, light the pipes, cook the soup, etc. In payment, prayers are said for him. The pipes are lighted with four service berry sticks about a foot and a half or two feet in length, which are lighted in the fire.

The smudge place is not cut out but white earth is spread over an irregular surface. Four buffalo dungs are placed on the west side with sage grass on top of them and at the right is placed the smudge stick. In the center is placed a buffalo dung on which the smudge of sweetgrass is made.

Four undecorated black pipes are used. No metal may be used on the pipes. The man who gives the feast fills the pipes while the assistant lights and passes them. Four rattles, similar to those in the beaver bundle ceremony are used. The guests sing the songs of the different medicines owned by them. In all each one must sing sixteen songs, four at a time. Anyone who has owned the medicine-pipe may sing four of the medicine-pipe songs; as many of the beaver bundle songs as one wishes to sing may be sung; but of other medicines, only one song may be sung. One song is allowed from each of the societies. The man sitting on the south side of the tipi starts the singing and is followed by the one on his left, and so on. One of the rattles is used by the person singing while the other three are used by the three people next to him to his left. Before singing, a smudge is made, he tells of what object he is going to sing, the amount paid for it, and a short prayer is said. When a man owns no bundle and has no song to sing, he merely passes the rattles to the next person. When medicine-pipe men join in the ceremony they bring with them their own utensils, sweet-pine needles for the smudge, etc. During the feast they are served first. When the owner of the smoking-otter joins he is given a place near the smudge place, opposite the leader; the medicine-pipe man is seated to his left. While the smoking-otter owner smokes, sleigh bells are shaken four times and everyone must desist from touching his moccasins. The smoking-otter owner uses juniper for his smudge. At the beginning of the ceremony the iniskim songs are sung.

The man who made the vow goes out to bring in the sun offering, making four stops in his circuit around the tipi. It is spread out and the moon and sun dogs painted in the center in black. On it is placed the tobacco board. The leader rubs the board, steel, and knife with sage grass. He brushes the right side of his head, his shoulder, and his arm, and then the left side with the sage grass. The same movements are repeated by all the men in turn. While the man who made the vow holds the tobacco and knife to cut it, the leader holds his wrists, and another man counts four war deeds. Meanwhile the leader motions as if to cut the tobacco. The leader paints the face of the man who made the vow and his family, with red paint, a black stripe around the face, and a dot on the bridge of the nose. He cuts the tobacco, fills a small pipe, and hands it to the leader who holds the stem or mouthpiece over the smudge and then the bowl, twice for each. Prayers are said to the sun, telling of the offering made, and asking for mercy for the man who gave the feast. The moon, stars, earth and all the animals are also appealed to and then the pipe is passed around for everyone to smoke.

The four rattles are held in the smudge, four times, and shaken, between each time. Then the singing commences and continues until each man has sung sixteen.

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
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songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends. 794 796 788

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he prays. 782

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun. [432]

The Stick Game Dance.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring tribe passing under the name stick game dance. It was reported by Duvall during the winter of 1910–1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe. He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and developed. This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual opportunity for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them. As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is "medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a presumptive right to the songs. 796 [177] [176] [121] [177] [121] [432] [424] [422]

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was 776 524

my skills are often as nothing. The world has changed so much that many of my natural medicines have no Power over the new illnesses which the People often seem to suffer. Some persons claim to have instant remedies for all sorts of complicated ailments, but I know from experience that successful doctoring comes only after much knowledge and devotion. Unless the doctor and patient both live in the same Ways, it is hard to cure with prayers if those prayers are only words which pass from one to the other. There must be a strong understanding. That is why I only doctor our Old People anymore."

GEORGE FIRST RIDER

In a modern pink house just outside the town of Cardston, Alberta, lives a controversial man named George First Rider. George was the only child of the famed doctor and Horns priest, Dog Child. Dog Child was proud of his only son and taught him everything he knew. He gave presents to the old, knowledgeable men so they would teach his son. Unusually intelligent, George learned the many songs and stories quite well. He asked his Teachers to explain many things other students simply accepted and memorized. He was interested in a holy life beyond being able to repeat ancient rituals.

George First Rider is now in his seventies and still very active. He has short gray hair, very light skin, and blue eyes—rather startling for the son of two full-blooded parents. He drives a shiny pickup truck with a camper and often wears a suit and tie, which add to his white appearance. George is a minister in the local chapter of the Full Gospel Church. Although he actually understands English quite well, like many of our Old People he often refuses to speak it because of pride and fear of making mistakes.

George's intelligence and appearance have always caused him difficulty. Long ago, when he tried to join the Horns Society, the man whose

course I would not consider even opening the door to the Chief's room—his medicine bundles are in there, and entry is strictly *verboten*. This does not imply any lack of acceptance of me by the Chief; the Chief has never actually forbidden me to enter his room, but if I were to go in there I might inadvertently perform some gesture improper to the sanctity of his medicine, and so we have an unspoken understanding that I will not so dishonor my Indian dad. I would really like to examine the Chief's room, though, and of course he would never know that I had been in there. But I would know.

I was awakened finally at 4:30 A.M. by what I thought was the whining of a dog but which turned out to be the creaking of the outhouse door, blown back and forth by the wind. Strangely enough, two dogs really did appear, about an hour later. Both of them are very thin, and apparently they belong here because they have accumulated in the back yard a collection of deer bones, horses' hooves, and other chewables. Indians generally are not unkind to animals. A Blackfoot legend tells of a young man who was so cruel as to partially skin a female prairie dog alive, and who was haunted by a vision of the poor tormented creature until he became insane. But Indians do not believe in interfering with nature any more than is necessary, and they feel that a horse or a dog that cannot take care of itself is not worth having. The Blackfoots, by the way, never ate dogs, whom they regarded as guardians of the camp, and the Blackfoots looked down their regal noses at those several tribes—Sioux, Assiniboine, Cree, etc.—that habitually consumed dog flesh.

One of the dogs that showed up this morning, a female, looks exactly like a coyote, and she spends most of her time hunting field mice. The other dog apparently is Coyote's pup for he keeps trying to nurse on her although the lazy bum is at least four months old. In lieu of hunting mice for a living, he has chosen the profession of archaeology and has pock-marked the yard with small, inutile excavations. I named him Rascal, because that's what he is.

The old woodstove in the ranch house kitchen now has a small butane burner on top of it, and on this I fried eggs and warmed some tinned beef. The rest of the house appears pretty much as I remember it, but in the living-room I noted two additions: on the table by the Chief's chair is a model of an F-86 jet fighter plane, poised in an attitude of strafing the tabletop, and on the wall is a framed portrait of Jesus with an accompanying pronouncement signed by a Roman Catholic priest that the family of J. White Calf has been consecrated to the Sacred Heart.

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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With no disrespect intended toward anyone, I could not help smiling at this formal proclamation of the Chief's conversion. In the first place, this is at least the second time that the Chief has been officially accepted as a Roman Catholic; in the second place, the Chief is a Methodist in good standing and is an honorary steward of the Browning Methodist Church; and in the third place, the Chief is at this very minute participating in a Sun Dance, the most important of all *Blackfoot* religious ceremonies. So I am afraid that I shall have to view this documentary evidence of the Chief's new religious status in a common light with the figure-painted chunk of animal hide which is given (sold, rather, unless you happen to be a big-shot politician) to Whites as official documentation of their "adoption" by the Blackfoot Indian Tribe.

The Chief believes (as do I) that worship of the Almighty should bring people closer together, not drive them further apart. The Chief will participate in Christian religious services in the same spirit of syncretism with which a tolerant Christian will attend an Indian Medicine Lodge, and it is important to be aware that this does not imply that there is anything in his religious attitude which suggests either hypocrisy or indulgence. The Chief does genuinely accept the Christian concept, but he does not feel it necessary to abandon his own traditional beliefs in order to do so. Membership in one religious body does not dissuade him from accepting membership amongst yet another denominational group--not any more than the fact of my already having a White father had any effect upon the Chief's adopting me as his own son. The Chief accepts the *New* as a complement to the *Old*, not as a replacement of it, and his religious philosophy thus derives from a blending--a concrescence, so to speak, and hence an enrichment--of the many separate ways in which man searches for a closer relationship both to God and to his fellowman.

Interestingly enough, the precursor of Christian missionary enterprise amongst the Blackfoots was himself an American Indian. Ignace Lamoose, an Iroquois who had attended the Jesuit Mission of Caughnawaga, near Montreal, Canada, was attempting to introduce the elements of Christianity among the Salish (Flatheads) as early as 1830. Old Ignace eventually was killed by the Sioux, but not before his efforts had paved the way for the founding among the Flatheads of the first Roman Catholic mission in the Great Northwest. The mission was inaugurated by the famous Father Jean Pierre DeSmet and two assistants, and according to Jesuit records it was at this mission, on Christmas Day, 1841, that the first Black-

the hi-yi-yi's. I miss so *much* by not knowing music! Music doesn't miss much by not knowing me, though, because when I secretly recorded some of the Blackfoot songs Jim has taught me, the playback sounded like background music for a Hitchcock film and I hastily erased the tape. Indian music is not so simple as it sounds. 122 533 [126]

The Pipe Dance is a religious ceremony, customarily held each year after the first thunderstorm of spring. This year, luckily for me, the dance was postponed until the present date. I have not been able to establish definitely the reason for the postponement, but there are rumors that a polio scare discouraged all public gatherings earlier in the year. I do know that the movie house was closed for a while. 122 796

But by the time we returned to Starr School, to Jim White Grass' house, people were beginning to arrive for the Dance. Cars and trucks of all descriptions--from ancient jalopies to brand new station wagons--were pulling into the yard. One car had a decal on the rear window which read, "Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Browning, Montana," and a sign in luminescent tape on the bumper which declared, "JESUS SAVES." As a matter of fact, there are quite a few "saved" Indians on the Reservation, and I do not think it particularly paradoxical that the best Christians among them are the same ones who are most faithful to the ancient Indian beliefs. In Blackfoot there are many words for God. [794]

For a while Jim and I watched silently as the cars and trucks filled the yard and then began to spill over onto an adjoining lot, then finally Jim shook his head once, in a characteristic gesture, and said, "In old days you see at these dances there was nothing but wagons and horsebacks. Now-days you don't see." (To Jim, "the old days" refers to any time prior to the end of W.W. II, for it was not until the post-war period that the automobile replaced the horse as a prestige symbol here on the Reservation. To the Chief, on the other hand, "not long ago" means any time within his memory span, and "just recently" suggests any time between W.W. I and the present.) [554]

When I picked up my shirts at the local laundry, the Norwegian who runs the place confided, "I came out here from North Dakota to get away from too many relatives. Then I married an Indian girl and so now I've got twice as many relatives as before." I know what he means. I am a Blackfoot by adoption only, but I have yet to meet an Indian who is not in some way related to me. However, this profusion of in-laws is attributable only in part to the endogamous social structure of the community; a fair portion of my rela- 122 602